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The Suffragist

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THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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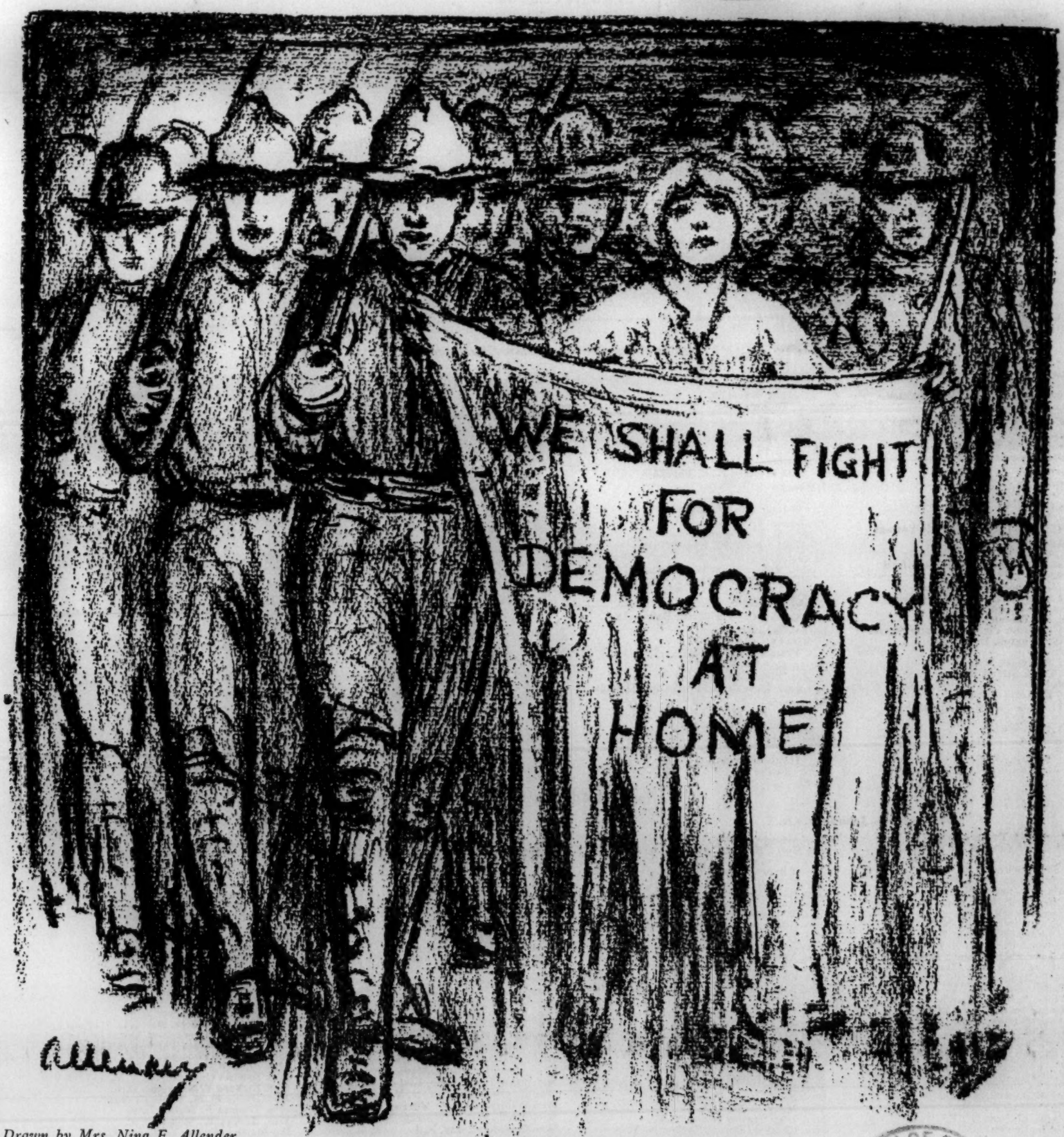

Drawn by Mrs. Nina E. Allender

THE SPIRIT FROM OCCOQUAN

First Drafted Man—My Wife is in Prison for Democracy
Second Drafted Man—My Mother is in Prison for Democracy
Third Drafted Man—My Sister is in Prison for Democracy

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Notes of the Week

The Vote on a House Woman Suffrage Committee

OF the two hundred and eighty-nine votes cast for and against the creation of a Woman Suffrage Committee in the House of Representatives eighty-two Democrats, ninety-eight Republicans and one Socialist voted for the measure. Seventy-five Democrats and thirty-two Republicans voted against the measure.

Of the Democrats present and voting, fifty-two per cent voted in favor; of the Republicans present and voting seventy-five per cent voted in favor of the measure.

In regard to the party vote of the reluctant Democratic side of the House the comment of Chairman Pou of the Rules Committee, leader of the favorable Democratic majority and mouthpiece of the Administration, is interesting:

"After this committee is appointed, in the next Congress, they (the Democratic friends of suffrage) expect to go before the people of America, and, if the returns justify, then, in the Sixty-Sixth Congress, they will ask for Congressional action."

This is without doubt the President's present suffrage policy: Suffrage in nineteen-twenty—"if the 1918 returns justify." The President has to move more swiftly toward justice for American women if he is to win co-operation for his "war for democracy."

Irish and American Political Prisoners

THE Irish political prisoners confined in Mount Joy Prison, Dublin, this week won their "hunger strike" which they had undertaken to mitigate the rigorous treatment accorded them in prison. They demanded to be treated as political or interned prisoners. Until their leader, Thomas Ashe, died of starvation their demands were unheeded.

It is a singular commentary on this American democracy that the very point fought for by these Irish prisoners has been the concession asked at the Government workhouse at Occoquan by the nineteen women confined there for carrying flags asking for the liberty of American women. These women asked to be released from menial and unsanitary labor. After weeks of protest an "investigation" behind closed doors is the result.

The Menace of the Future

THE industrial future of women after the war, the problem that is beginning to engage attention here as in Great Britain, was discussed recently at the British women's conference on reconstruction problems in London. Miss Mary MacArthur pointed out that the nation had everything to gain and nothing to lose by giving women, who had come into their own through war service of every sort, their fair share in politics.

Through either organization or by State action industry must be reorganized following the war, said Miss MacArthur, to insure the employment of women at decent wages and under conditions that would promote and not retard their development. She deplored a mere paper trade unionism for women that gave to them none of the educational growth that unionism means; and declared that women must enforce a forty-eight-hour week, sanitary standards and factory inspectors instead of welfare workers, as the necessary first steps following the war.

It is a singular commentary on this country that, even with the huge and growing influx of women into all war and other industries the Government of this democracy cripples its women by keeping them political slaves, unable to consider their own national future as the women of all classes in Great Britain are at this moment.

The Irony of Mr. Creel's New Job

BY order of the President, George Creel, chairman of the Committee on Public Information, will head a campaign to "rouse the nation" in a "Wake Up, America" tour. "The best speakers in the country will be enlisted to arouse the people to the necessity of presenting a united and aggressive front to Germany." The Chautauqua Union will take charge of the speakers' bureau, and partisan lines will be cast aside, says the press, as the Wakers of America go forth to the country.

A large group of American women, also accomplished speakers, are already waking up America to the great shortcoming of the President's crusade for liberty across the sea, pointing out that as long as American women are still imprisoned for asking for liberty in this country Mr. Creel has considerable explaining to do for the President.

Women May Fight for Democracy Abroad

THE strange spectacle of women themselves going abroad to fight for a democracy that they do not possess may prove another of this war's ironies. Fired by Russian, Canadian and English example women's "regiments" are being formed in Texas, in Indiana, and in Florida, according to news dispatches.

Continued reports come of Russian women at service at the front. Canadian and English women are now forming auxiliary corps. The British army council has just approved the English formations, but does not at present look for actual service on the firing line from these women. The object is "to effect substitution at home, at the bases and on the lines of communication overseas." Women in short will assume all duties behind the lines that would release men for the front. The Woman's Army Auxiliary Corps behind the English lines wears a regulation uniform.

The Woman Advance

AIRCRAFT construction is another of the fields just thrown open to women. Many women have driven air-ships and volunteered for service, but it is only since the war that they have been welcomed to the construction shops owing to the shortage of men. A leading manufacturer for the Government says that more than sixty per cent of his employes engaged in making wings are women, women excelling men in the making of wings and wing surfaces.

Women are at present for the first time being allowed by the federal Government to compete as mechanical draftsmen in the examinations being held this month. The Government is in fact taking its last stand against women only in its opposition to the federal suffrage amendment.

War Work for Babies

MRS. GRACE L. MEIGS, of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, in a paper on infant welfare in war-time which the bureau is distributing, not only tells how the infant death rate in the warring nations abroad was lowered, but makes practical war-time suggestions for this country: The intelligent care of children in their own homes; the strengthening and extending of preventive work for infant and maternal welfare; and the effort to enlist new candidates for training courses are points she emphasizes. The loss of physicians and nurses at this time for other forms of service is one of the dangers at the present time.

Dr. Meigs' plea is only another reminder at this time of how war diverts the mind of a nation from its own social needs. Women are in danger of forgetting their own interests as well as their own helplessness as a disfranchised class.

The President Advises Women Teachers

"THE war is bringing to the minds of our people a new appreciation of the problems of national life and a deeper understanding of the meaning and the aims of democracy."

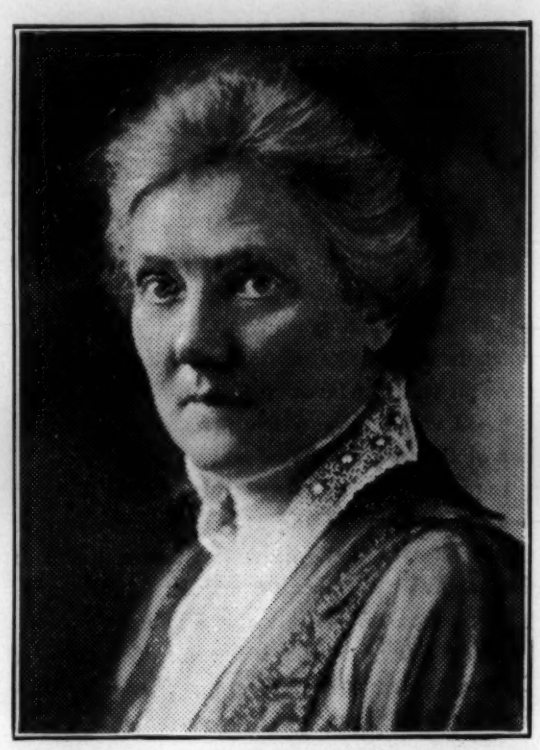
These are the initial words of the President in addressing the school officers of the nation, and through Mr. Hoover and Commissioner Claxton of the Department of Education, asking teachers to co-operate in "intensifying and extending" the work of the common schools. He urges especially "instruction bearing directly on the problems of community and national life," pointing out that when this war is over it is the teachers of the nation who "must apply the wisdom which we have acquired in enlarging and ennobling the life of the world."

The irony of this appeal to teachers from the President becomes apparent when it is remembered that a full ninety per cent of the teachers of the nation are women, to whom the President continues to deny national citizenship, while he urges that they emphasize the "meaning and aims of democracy" at this present crucial time.

The Country Learns of the Administration's Failure

Mrs. Robert W. Baker

Miss Maud Younger



Mrs. Lawrence Lewis

IN every section of the country meetings are being organized this week to welcome the notable speakers of the National Woman's Party, who are carrying to the great rank and file, to the men and women of the nation, the record of the Democratic party in the National Capital on suffrage as a war issue. Miss Mabel Vernon has already spoken to a rousing meeting of the first national conference of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League in St. Paul; Miss Maud Younger has just taken her story of the present suffrage battle, of the women left behind in prison, into the South; and Miss Anne Martin has gone back to the West, where she is a popular figure to make it plain to her Western friends why it is more important to keep the fires burning in the National Capital than even to lead army corps for overseas freedom.

Mrs. Howard Gould,—who has become interested in women's battle for freedom in this country since their imprisonment by the Government called her attention to the national situation,—will accompany Miss Younger on part of her southern trip, loaning her car and chauffeur and speaking at many of Miss Younger's meetings.

Mrs. Gould is the daughter of Mrs. J. W. Dayan, one of the founders of Palo Alto, identified with the early days of Standford University, and the originator of the student loan system of that institution. Mrs. Gould will return to the old family home in California following the present trip on which she will make her initial suffrage speeches. Mrs. Gould, before leaving Washington, visited Occoquan workhouse, and was so impressed by some of the abuses of the place that she made an affidavit as to these conditions, to be sent to the board of investigation which the District Commission has appointed.

Richmond will be the first stop of Miss Younger, where her party will be welcomed by the Governor and Mayor, with a public luncheon following and an out-of-door meeting at night. At Fredericksburg Miss Younger will speak at the county fair. At Lynchburg Mrs. Dexter Otey will entertain Miss Younger and Mrs. Gould at a tea and reception which will be followed by out-of-door meetings. Miss Rebecca Hourwich is arranging Miss Younger's Virginia meetings.

Mrs. Arthur Taylor is arranging the Charlotte meetings of Miss Younger, with other meetings in Winston-Salem, Raleigh and Wilmington already planned by Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall. The Georgia meetings have been arranged by Miss Katharine Mullen, with a local committee—headed by Mrs. Beatrice Castleton, State chairman, and Mrs. Newton Wing—in charge of the public luncheon and the out-door meetings which are a feature of Atlanta.

Mrs. W. P. Vaughn, State chairman, is arranging the South Carolina meetings of Miss Younger, in co-operation with Mrs. Nina Allender. In Florida Miss Helen Hunt, of the Jacksonville *Times,* the secretary of the Florida association, will arrange the Jacksonville and Pensacola receptions and mass meetings. Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, chairman of the Texas branch, has the Texas itinerary in charge.

INTEREST in hearing at first hand the story of the suffrage picket and why American women are in prison for asking for liberty is keen in the Middle West. In Kansas, where Miss Iris Calderhead has been arranging local committees, large meetings have been held in Topeka and Wichita. In Topeka Governor Capper welcomed Miss Anne Martin, already known in Kansas as "the picket whom the President pardoned;" and a mass meeting and conference followed. In Wichita Mayor Clapp's welcome lent an official flavor to the mass meeting held at the Crawford theater.

In Colorado Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler and the State committee, assisted by Miss Alice Henkle, are in charge of the meetings of Miss Martin. In Great Falls, Montana, Miss Viola Thurmond is arranging a mass meeting. In Oregon Dr. Florence Sharpe Manion, the State chairman, assisted by Miss Calderhead, is beginning to plan the coast schedule of Miss Martin. In California, with Mrs. William Kent, Mrs. Elinor Carlisle, State chairman, and Mrs. Orlow Black arranging the San Francisco and trans-bay meetings, the welcome of California is assured. Miss Clara Louise Rowe has charge of meetings in San Diego and Los Angeles, assisted by the local committees.

MRS. LAWRENCE LEWIS and Miss Mabel Vernon will interpret the picket in the North and Middle West. The Duluth meetings are in charge of Mrs. Gertrude Hunter and the St. Paul mass meeting of Mrs. A. R. Colvin and her board, assisted by Miss Sarah Grant. In Michigan the suffrage pickets will speak in Detroit, Battle Creek and Grand Rapids. A luncheon and conference and many mass meetings and street meetings will be held in the city and suburban towns in charge of Miss Margaret Whittemore and Mrs. Nelson Whittemore, State chairman. The Illinois meetings are in charge of Miss Lucy Ewing, Miss Margaret Whittemore, Miss Ella Abeel and a local committee. In Wisconsin Miss Ada James, State chairman, is arranging the meetings, which will be held in Milwaukee, Fond du Lac, Richland Center, Oshkosh and Kenosha. Mrs. Victor Berger and her committee is in charge of the Milwaukee mass meeting and street meetings.

Mrs. Robert Baker, recovering from a trying prison experience as a suffrage picket, will speak in New York State and in the New England States. These meetings are being arranged under the direction of Mrs. John W. Brannan, acting New York State chairman, Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, Mrs. Benton Mackaye, and the various State chairmen of the Woman's Party.

Anne Martin's Story of the Picket Arouses Kansas

MISS ANNE MARTIN opened the nation-wide appeal of the Woman's Party to the country this week in Kansas. She came into a State immersed in war work. She left with mayors and the Governor converted to the policies of the Woman's Party, and a relative of Susan B. Anthony in charge of the renewed and brisk campaign for the federal suffrage amendment in the State of Kansas.

Miss Iris Calderhead, the daughter of ex-Representative Calderhead, of Kansas, organized the Kansas meetings. Governor Capper welcomed Miss Martin to Kansas at the Topeka mass meeting, at which hundreds of men and women listened with splendid response to the story of the suffrage pickets, their imprisonment and their unprotected struggles against mob violence in the Capital of the nation. Unanimously the large audience sent a protest to Congress and the President demanding the immediate passage of the federal suffrage amendment. Governor Capper admitted to Miss Martin, following the final demonstration of enthusiasm, that "he felt differently about the picket," and that the Woman's Party was "justified in its methods."

At the Topeka conference following the mass meeting, Miss Nell Ainslee Anthony, a young cousin of Susan B. Anthony, became State chairman of the Woman's Party in Kansas. Miss Anthony is energetic and enthusiastic in her interest in the work of the Woman's Party, in spite of the fact that she has never before been connected with suffrage work. She is a graduate of the University of Chicago, where her principal interest was in economics. Along this line she has been doing continuation work since leaving college. A brilliant student, Miss Anthony is bring-

Miss Anne Martin
Vice-Chairman Woman's Party

ing to the new Kansas plans of the Woman's Party the same zest she has brought to her work as a student. She will at once undertake the reorganization of the State, that Kansas plans may be presented at the Washington December conference of the party.

At the Wichita meeting, held at Crawford Opera House, Mayor Clapp presided. The audience as a whole declared in favor of individually writing and telegraphing protests to the President against the imprisonment of American women and demanding action on the federal suffrage amendment. At the Wichita conference Mrs. Birkhead was elected chairman of the Wichita district, with a committee headed by Miss Smith co-operating. Miss Martin spoke the following day in Hutchinson, the enthusiasm of women proving that the message of the picket needs but to be carried to the women of the nation at this time. Everywhere engaged in war work and active co-operation with local relief work, Miss Martin says that nevertheless in the Middle West the undercurrent of dissatisfaction over the unfair discrimination against women at this time is merely awaiting expression. The concrete presentation of the Administration's treatment by one who has been on the firing line in the Capital; the sight of the mob-torn flags of the suffrage pickets, have aroused deep feeling.

Miss Martin will speak this week in Colorado at Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Glenwood Springs, and Denver, where a mass meeting and reception is being arranged by Miss Alice Henkle, of Chicago, acting with the State leaders. Next week Miss Martin will speak in the largest cities of Wyoming and Montana, where she will address out-door as well as indoor meetings.

A Russian Suffrage Prisoner Appeals to Free America for Aid

MISS VERA SAMARADIN, of Baltimore, who recently visited her sister, Miss Nina Samaradin, now serving a thirty-day sentence in Occoquan workhouse as one of the suffrake pickets, has appealed to the Russian ambassador to use his influence to alleviate the conditions under which her sister is forced to live.

Miss Nina Samaradin is a member of the Woman's Trade Union League, of Baltimore, and is an accomplished linguist, speaking three languages besides English. She has since the first week of her confinement in Occoquan spent most of her time in the hospital. Unable to eat meat, she complained to those able to see her of being "hungry all the time" because of the scanty and meager food she received, other than meat. Translated from the Russian, in which it was written, Miss Samaradin's touching letter, which was sent last week, reads:

THE Russian Ambassador,
Washington, D. C.

Excellency: I am appealing to you to help a young Russian girl imprisoned in the workhouse near Washington. Her name is Nina Samaradin. I have just come from one of the two monthly visits I am allowed to make her, as a member of her family.

The severity and cruelty of the treatment she is receiving at Occoquan are so much greater than she would have to suffer in Russia for the simple political offense she is accused of having committed that I hope you will be able to intercede with the officials of this country for her.

Her offense was carrying a banner and standing in front of the house of the President of the United States asking for the women of America the political freedom which all Russian women now possess.

Her offense, aside from the fact that she infringed no law and neither created nor disturbed the peace, had only a political aim, and was proved to be political by the words of the judge who sentenced her, for he declared that because of the innocent inscription on her banner he would make her sentence light.

Since her imprisonment she has been forced to wear the dress of a criminal, which she would not be in Russia; she has had to eat only the coarse and unpalatable food served the criminal inmates, and has not been allowed, as she would in Russia, to have other food brought to her; nor has she, as she would be there, been under the daily care of a physician. She is not permitted to write letters, nor to have free access to books and the other implements of study. Nina Samaradin has visibly lost in weight and strength since her imprisonment, and she has a constant headache from hunger.

Her motive in holding the banner by the White House I feel cannot but appeal to you, Excellency, for she says it was the knowledge that her family were fighting in Russia in this great war for democracy, and that she was cut off from serving with them, that made her desire to do what she could to help the women of this nation achieve the freedom her own people have.

Will you, if it is within your power, attempt to have her recognized as a political prisoner, and relieve the severity of the treatment she is receiving for obeying this impulse born of her love of liberty and the dictates of her conscience?

I have, Excellency, the honor to be
Respectfully, your countrywoman,
(Signed) VERA SAMARADIN.
Baltimore, Maryland, September 29, 1917.

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status

In the Senate

On the calendar awaiting a vote.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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Miss Lavinia Dock — Mrs. Gilson Gardner — Miss Pauline Jacobson

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

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Does the President Dare?

"WE have seen a good many singular things happen recently," as the President of the United States once remarked.

We have seen women unlawfully arrested for protesting to the President for democracy in war-time.

We have seen those women, for petitioning with flags, not only imprisoned in a Government workhouse, but half-starved and abused while there, and their legal rights disregarded.

We have seen men and women from many parts of the country protesting to no avail over these conditions; and then, with the entry of powerful attorneys into the case, we have seen the Government appear to give way and consent to an "investigation" into the conditions at the workhouse to which innocent women have been sentenced through this Administration.

We have finally seen this week a proffered "investigation," a Government sop thrown to suffragists at the eleventh hour. It was to have been a secret investigation. The attorneys of the National Woman's Party, with their witnesses and their affidavits, refused to appear before this Government-appointed group behind closed doors.

The Board investigating conditions at Occoquan, composed of men now serving on the District of Columbia Board of Charities, directly appointed by the President of the United States, are Chairman George E. Hamilton, D. J. Kaufman, and Dr. George M. Kober.

In reply to the demand of the National Woman's Party for public hearings and the right to produce and cross-examine witnesses, the Government Board made this singularly Czar-like explanation of policy:

"The policy of the Board is based upon a judgment that public hearings in the matter of any and every complaint that may be made against the various institutions would be impracticable, unuseful, and very detrimental to the proper direction of such institutions."

Superintendent Whittaker of Occoquan workhouse has been "investigated" and officially exonerated at two previous hearings by the Board. "No matter how many Congressmen you have on your side, my word would be believed over yours!" he told a suffragist now in Occoquan, when she protested over his brutally withholding necessary medicine from her.

There are now nineteen suffrage prisoners at Occoquan workhouse. As many as there are beds for are ill in the workhouse hospital. One, dangerously ill, has been removed to the District prison hospital.

Does the President of the United States dare, in the face of his present "war for democracy," not only to imprison American women for asking for democracy, but to consent to their being half starved and mistreated by his appointed officials, and then, in these United States, denied a public hearing?

The Government's Official "Investigation" of Occoquan

AFTER repeated complaints sent to the District Commissioners by the counsel and friends of the National Woman's Party as to the conditions of living at Occoquan workhouse an investigation into workhouse conditions and an examination of the charges submitted was agreed upon by the commission September 24, the probe to be in charge of the District Board of Charities, who had before pronounced conditions at the workhouse as satisfactory.

It was only after the announcement of Dudley Field Malone, former Collector of the Port of New York, that he would defend two former Occoquan prisoners in an effort to bring to light the conditions at the institution, that the investigation was announced. The complaints that suffragists have been sending for weeks had been not even answered, and one official had announced that nothing could be done about the complaints. Following Mr. Malone's acceptance of the Occoquan case, coupled with a telegram to the Government from Richard Bennet, the actor, who refused to urge social hygiene abroad in the face of the unlawful treatment meted out to American women at home, the District Commissioners hurriedly announced the investigation.

At the outset Mr. Malone declared he could prove that prisoners at the institution were badly fed; that they were brutally punished; that they were forced to sleep on concrete beds; that their shelter in cold weather was insufficient; that the toilets and drinking facilities were unsanitary, and that prisoners were forced to work when only fit for the hospital. These charges of Mr. Malone grew out of the cases he had undertaken to defend, and applied to the men's quarters of the institution. Many of the charges apply equally to the women's quarters, as the affidavits of suffragists and other women in a position to know proved.

THE investigation was set for October 2 and was held in the District building before the following committee of the District Board of Charities: George E. Hamilton, chairman; John Joy Edson, D. J. Kaufman, and Dr. George M. Kober.

Attorney Samuel G. Brent and Judge J. K. N. Norton, both of Alexandria, Virginia, acted with Mr. Malone. Armed with eighteen affidavits and with a score of witnesses as to the actual conditions of Occoquan, the attorneys appeared at the District building on the day of the investigation. They were told by the officials of the Board of Charities that since the investigation was "only an inquiry into workhouse conditions" and not a trial, the investigation would, as customary, be held in secret, without reporters or outsiders present.

Mr. Malone and his assistants refused to produce their testimony before any such "star chamber proceeding." They demanded a public hearing, claiming that whether the charges were true or false, both sides were entitled to a full public hearing. They refused to call their witnesses before such a hearing as the District Board had planned. In the room when Mr. Malone made this statement were only two of the appointed members. The third member, it was announced, would arrive later. Neither inside nor outside the room were any witnesses for Superintendent Whittaker.

Before leaving with his witnesses counsel for the National Woman's Party filed the following letter stating their position in demanding a public hearing, the right to subpœna witnesses, including prisoners, and the right to cross-examine all witnesses:

HON. JOHN JOY EDSON,
President Board of Charities,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:—We are counsel for a large group of citizens, men and women, who have in the past been associated with Occoquan workhouse as officials or inmates and who are ready to testify to unspeakable conditions of mismanagement, graft, sanitary depravity, indignity and brutality at the institution.

We are glad you are to conduct this long-needed inquiry and shall co-operate in every way to get at the truth of conditions in Occoquan through your investigation provided you make the hearings public, subpœna all available witnesses, including men and women now prisoners at Occoquan, first granting them immunity, and provided you give counsel an opportunity to examine and cross-examine all witnesses so called.

We are confident your honorable board will see the justice and the wisdom of a public inquiry. If charges so publicly made are untrue, the management of Occoquan workhouse is entitled to public vindication, and if these charges are true, the people of Washington and Virginia should publicly know what kind of a prison they have in their midst and the people of the country should publicly know the frightful conditions in this institution supported by Congress and the Government of the United States.

We are ready with our witnesses and affidavits to aid your honorable board in every way, provided you meet the conditions above named. But if you insist on a hearing behind closed doors, we cannot submit our witnesses to a star-chamber proceeding and shall readily find another forum in which to tell the American public the vivid story of Occoquan workhouse.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) DUDLEY FIELD MALONE.
J. K. N. NORTON.
SAMUEL G. BRENT.

October 2, 1917.

THE board of "investigation" is said to have been in session two hours, and another meeting called within a few days "to reconcile," in the words of Chairman George E. Hamilton, "to reconcile the parties interested to the Board's judgment that public hearings in the matter, of any and every complaint against the various institutions would be impractical and detrimental to the proper direction of such institutions." It is generally believed that a Congressional investigation is likely to follow the high-handed action of the Board in refusing to let the actions of their appointed investigators become known.

Since the announced investigation of last week Superintendent William H. Whittaker has been temporarily "relieved without prejudice" of direction of Occoquan workhouse. This is the third "investigation" behind closed doors which has been had since Whittaker's occupancy of this position. In the two former cases he was found not guilty and reinstated.

PENDING the result of this investigation Alonzo Tweedale, District auditor, will be temporarily in charge of the institution. Since this change the nineteen suffrage prisoners have, with the departure of Mrs. Lawrence Lewis from Washington this week, been denied counsel. Mrs. Lewis on her last visit to the institution, September 30, reported the condition of these women to be pitiful. The food continues to be uneatable. The women fell upon the sandwiches she was allowed to give those she saw as if famished.

Mrs. Lewis heard in detail the story of Mrs. Frederick Kendall, of Buffalo, which Superintendent Whittaker had denied to reporters and to a member of the investigating board. For stating that she was too weak from lack of food to scrub a floor and that the matron's reply that there was no other work was "hypocritical," Mrs. Kendall was confined in a separate room for four days for *profanity*. She was refused the clean clothing she should have had the day of her confinement, and was therefore forced to wear the same clothing for eleven days. She was refused a night dress, or clean linen for the bed in the room. The only toilet accommodation consisted of an open pail. Mrs. Kendall was allowed no water for toilet purposes during the four days, and was given three thin slices of bread and three cups of water a day. The water was contained in a small paper cup, which on several occasions had seeped through. It was only when Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thompson, the daughter of Speaker Clark, and Miss Roberta Bradshaw, friends of Mrs. Kendall, obtained permission to see her that she was given clean clothing and taken from this room. When the door was opened she fainted from weakness. It is such facts as these that the Administration is, through the District Commissioners and the investigating Board of Charities, vainly trying to keep from the people of this country.

Mabel Vernon Speaker at Great Farmers' Conference

Senator Borah Predicts Immediate Passage of Federal Suffrage

Mabel Vernon

IF the President of the United States, so fearful of urging democracy at home, as he sends men to die for democracy abroad, would listen to the voice of the Northwest, he would immediately forget fear, and put through the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

That voice was heard in unmistakable terms at the Non-Partisan League convention in St. Paul on September 19. Mabel Vernon, as the representative of the National Woman's Party, made a ringing speech, calling upon the delegates to use all the power they possess as free citizens united for political action to demand the immediate enfranchisement of American women. The men, close packed into the great auditorium in St. Paul, broke out into shouts when Miss Vernon, quoting the conclusion of the President's war message, declared that America must give freedom to its own women citizens before it can fight with honor to win freedom for the peoples of other lands.

"The President has defined the democracy for which we fight," said Miss Vernon. "He has not left the definition of this ideal to the mind of any citizen or the loose interpretation of any newspaper. He has said it is the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments. What about American women? On what ground does the President consistently deny them a voice in their own government? Do they not submit to authority? I, who have served time in prison because I carried a banner on the streets of Washington appealing to the President for democracy, know that they do." The audience burst into applause, as if those men who are fighting for industrial freedom wanted to cheer on the women who are so courageously waging their own battle for democracy.

"You have demonstrated you have power to help yourselves," concluded Miss Vernon. "Use that same power to help win freedom for all the people of this land. Send word immediately to the President and Congress that 'we cannot postpone justice any longer in these United States.'"

"WE will, we will!" came back the answer from many voices as the prolonged applause indicated that the members of the Non-Partisan League are in the fight for democracy at home. No national political platform was built at this consumers' and producers' conference, called to consider the high cost of living as related to the farmer; but Representative Baer, the candidate of the League, who was recently elected to Congress from North Dakota, declared at a Woman's Party luncheon, held at the St. Paul Hotel immediately after Miss Vernon had spoken, that when the National platform of the Non-Partisan League is formed, national woman suffrage will undoubtedly be one of the strongest planks.

AT the luncheon there were one hundred men and women present "to hear about the pickets." Mrs. A. R. Colvin, Minnesota chairman of the Woman's Party, presided. Miss Vernon outlined all that had happened in the National Capital since the President on January 9 of this year indicated that the seventy years women had worked for suffrage were not enough, that they must now "concert public opinion."

Ex-Congressman Lindberg, of Minnesota, in a brief speech full of tense earnestness told of the shameful attacks upon women he himself had seen in Washington as those women, by innocent banners, had endeavored to remind a forgetful Government of its twenty million unenfranchised citizens.

TO CONCLUDE that stirring day in St. Paul Mrs. A. R. Colvin, Mrs. Alden Potter and Mrs. Alfred Bright, of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, led a large delegation immediately after the luncheon, into the Windsor room to interview Senator Borah, of Idaho.

"The federal suffrage amendment will pass in the regular session of Congress" (*i. e.*, in December), were almost the first words of the Senator.

"Then you do not think that picketing has 'set back suffrage' for an indefinite number of years?" asked Mrs. Potter, quietly. The Senator made no answer, but smiled knowingly around the circle.

"I know many Senators who will vote for this amendment," he went on, "not because they are in favor of suffrage, but because they believe this is a matter for them to refer to the States, which undoubtedly have the right to pass upon the question. If I myself vote for the amendment it will be on the principle of the referendum."

Senator Borah is considered the prognosticator of the Senate; he does not foretell events he has not definitely seen on the political horizon. At last the national Government, amazingly stupid for years, has discovered that the States have a right to pass on the suffrage question! Such a simple solution of an ancient problem! Such an easy way to banish from Washington agitation gathering in many States and which is becoming troublesome and embarrassing! All glory to the suffrage pickets!

An Answer and Explanation

EDITOR of THE SUFFRAGIST: The object of the National Woman's Party is: To secure an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women. On a banner carried by a picket these words were displayed: "While we are fighting for democracy in Europe, may we not have democracy at home?"

Never! is the answer to that question if it is the policy of the National Woman's Party to class negroes with criminals, as so clearly set forth in a cartoon of THE SUFFRAGIST of September 18. Colored men are disfranchised today by the same unjust Government which keeps the ballot from twenty million colored and white women.

As to the cartoonist's objection—which must have been shared alike by the editors of THE SUFFRAGIST, or the picture would not have appeared—may I ask what is the difference between a black prostitute and a white prostitute?

As a believer in democracy, of which suffrage for women of all colors is a part, and as a newly-won member to the National Woman's Party, I urge an immediate refutation of Congressman Baer's cartoon. . . .

(Signed) ELLEN WINSOR.

We are in accord with your protest with reference to negroes in the cartoon you speak of. The cartoon, as stated on the page, was loaned by the Newspaper Enterprise Association. The words you refer to were part of the plate, drawn in by Mr. Baer. The cartoon was reproduced as of interest in that it was a drawing of pickets by a member of Congress. We do not endorse the caption, which could not, however, be omitted from the cartoon. At this time especially, when the negro race is making a splendid effort to organize against injustice, we do not wish to even appear undemocratic in this regard.—*Editor.*

Justice for Pickets

By Belle Case LaFollette

From LaFollette's Magazine, September, 1917

Mrs. Robert Marion LaFollette

A WRONGFUL impression has been given out over the country that the arrest and imprisonment of prominent suffragists in Washington, on the charge of "obstructing the traffic" is justifiable on the ground that picketing at the White House has been for the purpose of "annoying the President." It might just as well be said that picketing at the Capitol is for the purpose of "annoying Senators and Representatives." The fact is, that picketing has been adopted as one means of keeping Congress and the President both reminded that the constitutional amendment—the Susan B. Anthony amendment—for the enfranchisement of women, has not yet been passed.

We may disapprove of women picketing for suffrage. We may question the wisdom of the policy. But that peaceful picketing should be made the cause for imprisonment cannot be justified on any ground. There was a time when street parades and street meetings were assailed as bad suffrage tactics, but who now questions the valuable part they have played in the suffrage movment? In a great cause that concerns the masses, all kinds of honest appeal must be employed. A great issue must be familiarized and popularized before it can be grasped and understood and grow into a burning conviction.

DURING the several months I was in Washington this year I did not happen to enter the White House gates. But nearly every day I went to the Capitol. And at the entrances of the beautiful grounds, during most of the daylight hours, standing like sentinels at their posts, were groups of two or three young women decorated with suffrage colors. In the cold and the rain, in the heat and the dust, they stood there holding up well designed banners, which none who passed could fail to read. These standard bearers were personally silent and unobtrusive. It was the inscriptions on the banners that compelled attention. The inscriptions were all dignified. They were most carefully chosen,—terse messages that in their application, forced conviction that votes for women was fundamental to true democracy. Some cited recent events in Russia. Some were quotations from recent messages of President Wilson.

More and more I grew to admire the courage, the strength of purpose and devotion to principle which sustained the picketers in their hard undertaking. Furthermore as I studied the effect of their effort, the persistent conviction grew on me that they were pursuing a consistent and effective policy. I speak disinterestedly. Although I have helped a little now and then, I have never been an active worker in the militant wing of the suffrage organization. Its constituency is mostly of a younger generation and my training has been in a different school. My conclusion as to the value of their service is that of an outside observer.

WHEN Alice Paul and her associates came to Washington to prepare the way for the great parade and demonstration which proved to be the most widely advertised feature of President Wilson's first inauguration, at that time —only five years ago—the Capital City of the United States was enjoying a veritable Rip Van Winkle sleep on the subject of suffrage. To be sure the time was ripe for an awakening. Enough Western States had been won to create a strong entering wedge in Congress. But to correlate the scattered forces, revitalize the issue, bring it to the front and into the limelight, called for the highest order of generalship. It called for unyielding determination and power, for a Joan of Arc faith and enthusiasm. And this is what the Alice Paul leadership has meant to the cause of suffrage at the seat of government.

The five years of concentrated campaigning for the Susan B. Anthony amendment has been carried on with intense fervor and drive such as party managers put into national election contests. "Education," "patient waiting" have had no place in the plan of attack of the "Congressional Union" or the "National Suffrage Party," as the organization is now designated. They wanted the vote. They wanted to get it by the shortest cut. They bombarded Congress with hearings and appeals for hearings. They kept up a continuous siege of personal interviews. They interviewed the President publicly and personally and appealed for more interviews. They reached out for the society women with teas and receptions at the spacious, historic old house, where they have their headquarters. They aroused public interest through parades and street meetings. They organized the city into units for meetings in private houses. They kept the reporters busy. They got the front page of the newspapers.

THE transformation in sentiment that has taken place on the suffrage issue since the 4th of March, 1913, at the Capital has been spectacular and extraordinary. If it had not been a part of my observation and experience, I could not believe so radical a change possible. And in my judgment this wonderful result is mostly due to the brains, the energy, the martyr-like zeal and spirit that is back of the organization that has kept the picketers at the Capitol and the White House. Mind, I do not give them credit for the remarkable simultaneous growth of suffrage sentiment in the States. I am of the opinion that Congressional Union interference with State work was a mistake. But this does not lessen the credit and the admiration due their achievement in the District of Columbia, where a lethargic, scornful, incredulous attitude has been so revolutionized that the most reluctant and unwilling politicians now concede that in a short time—after the war is over, perhaps—suffrage will be granted to women by constitutional amendment.

But these fighters for democracy are not willing that the suffrage issue shall be shoved aside. They are determined to keep the fires burning. And so they have stood in small relays for one hundred and fifty and more odd days before the gates of the White House and at the entrances to the Capitol bearing aloft inscriptions appealing to Congress and to the President for justice.

IT should be remembered that the Congressional Union has never been militant in the English sense. They have not violated the law nor committed violence. They have been aggressive, forceful, indefatigable, unafraid. Their leaders are largely women of education, experience,—writers, teachers, artists, business and working women and many have wealth and social position.

That sincere, purposeful, high-minded women should be arrested and imprisoned for peaceful picketing—for standing quietly and harmlessly, holding aloft banners on which are inscribed fundamental principles of democracy, is a strange commentary on our free institutions.

Comments of the Press

Justice as a Remedy

IF reaction shows its head here, if we deny equal rights to groups of our fellow-citizens, black or white, men or women, upon whom the burden of the war is falling with equal heaviness, we shall truly be giving direct aid and comfort to the enemy, for they will insist in Berlin that our love for democracy is demonstrably hypocritical, and they will cite the Maine election and East St. Louis to prove their point, to say nothing of the pulling down of the Haitian Republic.

The real unity that this nation ought to have can come only when justice is done at home. The *Evening Post* marvels that people do not see that the way to get rid of the I. W. W. is not to jail its leaders, but to cure the economic evils which gave it birth; that the way to get all our women pulling whole-heartedly with the Government is, among other things, not to jail suffrage protestants in the Occoquan workhouse, but to give them the ballot to which they are of right entitled. It is true that . . . the triumph of women is inevitable. But if this war is not to speed up reform in the United States, while imposing representative, decent, honest, and responsible government upon Germany—then shall we Americans have been recreant to our foremost trust.—*New York Evening Post, September 19, 1917.*

On a Point of Honor

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, collector of customs at the Port of New York, has resigned. The position is the best and most important within control of the federal administration. Mr. Malone is a lawyer of high ability and a leader in the Democratic party as potent as Mr. Wilson himself. To his efforts, both as an organizer and as an advocate on the stump of Democratic principles and the policies of the Wilson Administration, is due, in a measurable degree, the success of Mr. Wilson's campaign for a second term in the presidency.

The resignation of Collector Malone is clear and unequivocal record of personal and political punctillio.

Whatever American citizens may think of the suffrage issue or of President Wilson's attitude toward it, there can be no honest diversity of opinion as to Mr. Malone's position in relation to the questions he broaches in his letter to the President. The manhood that rests firmly on manly honor speaks in every line of the message. Mr. Malone gave a pledge to the women voters of the nation; that pledge was on behalf of a candidate of a party in whose cause he was a devoted adherent; it was a personal pledge, to be sure, but it was not repudiated by the supreme leader of the party in whose interest it was made; by his silence Mr. Wilson consented to the pledge—and the votes were delivered; the great suffrage state of California re-elected Woodrow Wilson to his second term in the presidency. Silence and evasion and implied acquiescence in the police measures against the suffragists, have been the characteristics of the Administration policy toward the women citizens of the country since the election. Mr. Malone's promises have been flouted and his faith in the integrity of the Democratic party as represented by the Wilson Administration, has been held in indifference or even scorn by the councils of the White House.

There was but one course for an honorable man with a high regard for his spoken word, to pursue; and Mr. Malone followed the straight and narrow path that leads to the universal respect of his fellow citizens. There will be much ado in Administration quarters to meet the honest, outspoken, manly utterances of Mr. Malone. The next question at issue is now entirely subordinate to the major proposition. The President must accept Mr. Malone's resignation or submit to utter stultification of his Administration policy on the issue. He cannot evade a direct appeal in a court of honor. The pledges of a political platform may be repudiated with impunity because there may be honest differences of opinion on their advisability or their expediency. But a broken promise or a promise evaded is in the category of those discarded treaties which a famous statesman and wise diplomat once scoffingly designated "scraps of paper."—*San Diego (California) Union, September 12, 1917.*

Making the World Safe

A SUFFRAGIST picket has been deprived of her job as teacher in Buffalo. Perhaps they fear she might explain to the children how this country is "making the world safe for democracy."—*Miami (Fla.) Metropolis, September 18, 1917.*

The President Can Force Suffrage Now

AN English statesman said that woman suffrage in England has shown the true splendor of English womanhood, and I believe that woman suffrage for women in America will reveal the true splendor of American womanhood.

Do you believe that women are going to jail in Washington for picketing for fun? Picketing is a means of bringing to the attention of the President that now is the opportune time to grant women the right to vote, and to place them at least on a par with the negro.

I am growing corn and potatoes, selling liberty bonds, making jam for the soldiers in Fairfield county, and I have received a card from Mr. Hoover asking for my assistance in his work. Do you believe it is right to ask those things of me and keep me in bondage?

Now is the time to urge the President to give us the vote, when Uncle Sam is calling for our services. It will stimulate the womanhood of America to further effort to grant them the right of citizenship.

We are determined to have it, and the President has it in his power to go to Congress and have the federal amendment passed now.—*Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer in Stamford (Conn.) Advocate, September 13, 1917.*

Our Unpopular Reformers

JUST why a woman standing in a certain spot with a sign pointing out certain masculine deviations from the democratic creed should alienate our support from the truth is something inexplicable. A persistent, concrete statement of a fact should embarrass no one who respects the truth. Of course, if the fact suggests the necessity of performing a hateful or perhaps painful duty the case is altered. No one likes to have the eyes of a coldly calculating world directed to his inconsistencies. Has our hostility to those signs a deeper source than a mere difference over method?

I confess that I am unable to discern anywhere a valid reason why the present should be considered as a time unsuitable for harmonizing our deeds with our professions. Neither England nor Canada found the conduct of a war an insuperable obstacle to performing a simple act of justice. Men who have debated a month over a prohibition amendment to a food bill surely are not rigidly economical of time. And are not our suffragists justified in calling our attention to a glaring discrepancy between the creed we profess and the things we fail to do? Is it then treason to preach democracy, whether on sign boards, banners, or in public halls? Is our peace so fragile an object that it can be shattered by a word of protest?

Has not the whole trouble rather been caused by unwilling recognition of the fact that these mute yet loudly speaking signs have advertised to the world the fact that we are other than we so loudly claim to be? And can a war carried on in the name of democracy be won only by surrender of the right to protest? All great causes have not been won by methods approved by the average man. And if women aid the Kaiser by asserting their belief that taxation without representation is tyranny, whose is the fault? Shall we imprison the offenders? Or should we not rather live up to our creed?—*J. F. Heffron, Buffalo Express, September 7, 1917.*

MEMORIES OF INEZ MILHOLLAND BOISSEVAIN

THE FRIENDS OF INEZ MILHOLLAND BOISSEVAIN IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD ARE ASKED TO ASSIST IN WRITING THIS BOOK. THOSE WHO KNEW MRS. BOISSEVAIN AT ANY PERIOD OF HER BRIEF LIFE—DURING HER SCHOOL DAYS, ABROAD, OR AFTER SHE TOOK UP HER WORK IN THIS COUNTRY, ARE ASKED TO WRITE THESE MEMORIES, COMMUNICATING WITH HER FATHER, MR. JOHN E. MILHOLLAND, CARE OF "THE SUFFRAGIST."

A Question of Honor

WHAT Mr. Malone really does is to charge a deceiving of the voters of the West and to make the President a party to the offense. This is a serious proposition, especially when it comes from a man who holds one of the chief federal positions in the country. When he says that he acted upon authority when he promised the Western States that the President would aid in securing the passage of a constitutional amendment giving the suffrage to women, he should know whereof he speaks. He has been very close to the White House during all of the Wilson Administration, and has been its chosen spokesman upon many an occasion.

The letter of resignation brings back the campaign of last fall and throws a very vivid light upon a most important part of it.

The Democratic managers found that the women voters were largely on the side of the President because of the cry that he had kept the country out of war. This issue was made use of to its utmost, and proved most effective. But the party leaders found, too, that there was a hesitation on the part of women in the suffrage States to support the President, because of the fact that he had not come out for national woman suffrage, while Mr. Hughes had declared himself for that in the opening of his campaign.

Mr. Malone was thereupon sent to the West. He went as the representative of the Administration, and was naturally deemed to speak for the White House. He was holding the place of collector of customs at the principal port of the country, and, besides, had served as Assistant Secretary of State under Mr. Wilson. He was known all over the country as one of the few who had access to the President.

Therefore, when he promised that the President, if re-elected, would devote his energies to helping to secure votes for women by means of a constitutional amendment, he was considered as having the authority to make such a promise. The result was that the vote of the women in those States went for Mr. Wilson and brought about his re-election.

The very interesting and important question is now raised by Mr. Malone as to whether the President was correctly pictured in those speeches. If so, the voters were deceived. If not, it was Mr. Malone who painted the false picture.

Mr. Malone insists that he had the right to make such a statement, and, certainly, it was not contradicted during the campaign, although the fact that it was being made was known to all concerned. Collector Malone has put upon the White House doorstep a very nice question of personal honor that cannot be ignored.—*Philadelphia Press, September 14, 1917.*

The Fight Still On

FOUR more pickets fall into the toils of the police. And Superintendent Whittaker in his Occoquan home undoubtedly believes that General Sherman's definition of war of any kind constituted a whole pageful.—*Washington (D. C.) Post, September 26, 1917.*

You Cannot Fool the People

CHILLY the White House "front" to suffrage may be, but it is clear that Capitol Hill is the reverse of frigid in its attitude towards the women who are asking the ballot. The vote in the House yesterday—on the question of creating a suffrage committee—is a clean-cut victory. Well may there be rejoicing in Cameron House (National Woman's Party headquarters) and every other purlieu of the "equal ballot" throughout the land.

The skeptic will ask how the action of the House yesterday changes the situation. It doesn't, except indirectly. It shows that suffrage can command a majority in the lower chamber of Congress any time it is permitted to come to a vote. That is a revelation which, in itself, constitutes a "moral victory" for the suffragists. It is the most substantial demonstration of their strength that the past twelve months have shown. There is no doubt that the cause is growing, and growing every day.

It seems curious that the day in which this decisive vote comes in Congress should have been the day set for the resumption of picketing. We cannot believe the choice was deliberate; rather did the Fates play a curious trick upon the group which is laying siege to presidential favor, if that is the correct way of putting it.

Congress will insist that the vote yesterday was gained in spite of, and not because of, picketing, but the general public will be interested more in effects than in causes; and the effect of the vote yesterday will be far-reaching.—*Washington (D. C.) Herald, September 25, 1917.*

Will the President See?

NOW that the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution has been favorably reported by the Senate committee, will President Wilson see his way clear to take an energetic part in the fight for its passage —to make the world "safe for democracy?"—*Miami (Fla.) Metropolis, September 19, 1917.*

An Exposure Due

DUDLEY MALONE threatens to tear the roof off Occoquan. And this with cold weather coming on.—*Washington (D. C.) Post, September 25, 1917.*

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